1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 784 to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit. On Nuku Hiva I was told that the posts supporting the *fata'a* were carved and also those of the sleeping house in the establishment of a chief who could afford such elaboration, and that the floor was made of small fau logs, a long notched log serving as a ladder. The oven and cooking fire were on the ground underneath the *fata'a*. It was on the *fata'a* that men devoted themselves to their home industries—the crafts of ornament and weapon-making, the shaping of bowls, the making of *popoi* pounders, and to the carving of these.

The Cook House

[343] The cook house *(fa'e tumau)* was a shed on the ground, thatched with coconut leaf mats, open on all sides or closed on two or three sides, with bamboo or fau rods placed sometimes horizontally, sometimes vertically. The oven was a hole in the earth floor. In it lay the small stream boulders

a *b* *c*

Figure 9.—Household utensils: *a*, types of stone *popoi* pounders; *b* and *c*, carved bowls showing typical designs.

that were heated for cooking. Fire was made by friction by the plough method: a short stick of soft wood, usually fau, sharpened at the lower end, was rubbed rapidly in a groove running lengthwise on the surface of a larger piece of soft wood (fau or the dry stem of a coconut cluster preferred), wood dust accumulating gradually in a little pile at the end of the groove away from the operator, until a fine thread of smoke began to rise from this heated pile of dust and then the point of the rubbing stick was thrust quickly into the dust, tinder added, and the glowing bit of dust and tinder were blown into a flame. The burden of making fire every time it was needed was obviated by means of *nanu ahi*, long bundles of coconut sheafs tied with sennit, which when lighted smouldered for a long time. [415] Tongs *(koke mei)* for handling the hot stones in the oven were made of two sticks three or four feet long, preferably of *mi'o* wood. These were held together about a foot from the lower end by means of a loose lashing, which allowed sufficient play for the sticks to be crossed and manipulated as tongs.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

843 From the time that a child is born and even before its birth, it and its mother are subjected to a mass of interdictions or tapus. One could not even leave on the road, where the pregnant woman was apt to pass, the least filth, the least debris, for fear of the great harm to her and to her child.

Should an inmate of a house, in which there was a woman with child, go out at night and return, he had to chew *noni* leaves as he approached and spit them about in front of the house before entering. Thus were evil spirits, called *fanaua*, prevented from entering the house with a person and so being free to enter the woman and subsequently kill her and her child. [776] *Fanaua* were evil female demons who entered the bodies of women, causing them to swell as in pregnancy and killing both mothers and children at the time when delivery should take place. (See Spirits.)

844 A special house called the *fa'e taina* was built on the same platform with the sleeping house, or near it. Into this, the mother retired at a time [343] sufficiently in advance of the expected delivery to make sure that it should not occur by accident in the sleeping house. If such accident did occur, the sleeping house would have to suffer the fate of the *fa'e taina*, which was burned. Modern informants say that the father stayed in the *fa'e taina* with the mother, particularly at night, on account of the danger from evil spirits, *vehine hae* being supposed to steal both mother and child. The natives say that anyone could enter the *fa'e taina*. Nowadays at the time of birth, the mother stays in such a house from a few days to a few weeks. Garcia says (14, pp. 74-5) that the child was kept here with the mother for several weeks, sometimes for several months, and further, that even the family could enter only with a mass of ceremonies.

Birth is so rare in the Marquesas nowadays that I never had the opportunity of investigating first-hand any of the practices surrounding it, except the building of a birth house, for no child was ever born in any locality in which I was at the time staying. As has been said, the mother retired into the birth house, which was prepared well in advance, sometime before delivery was expected. When the labor began, female relatives and frequently the husband aided her. If labor was severe, the husband would raise her to a squatting position and climb upon her back, pressing on her upper abdomen with his knees. If there was danger that the child would be born feet first, assistants beat upon anything available, hoping that by making this great din, they would bring about a normal birth. One informant said that only female relatives of the woman could aid her, [759] because of the *tapu* on blood. If she had no female relatives, she was left alone. There were no midwives. Langsdorff says (18, pp. 151-2): "A large piece of cloth which they make from the paper mulberry tree is

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

gether and encasing rough stone, rubble, and earth. These platforms are easily recognizable through the fact that their height is much greater in proportion to their length and breadth as compared with that of the platform of the sleeping house. The dimensions of *taha tupapa'u* averaged between six and eight feet in height, ten and fifteen feet in length, six and ten feet in breadth. These platforms for the dead stand in close proximity to the sleeping houses. In the upper surface of the platform was a trench called *vale*, which ran lengthwise with the platform beneath the bier on which the body was exposed, and which was intended to catch the juices of decay that came from it.

The bier, on which the body was extended, stood in the middle of the platform on four posts about four feet high and was made usually of fau poles. Melville (23, p. 224) describes a bier on Nuku Hiva constructed of elastic bamboo ingeniously twisted together. This was supported, about two feet from the ground, by large canes planted uprightly in the earth.

The body lay extended on this bier, either exposed for treatment and drying or covered with a sheet of tapa; or it was seated, leaning forward, with arms and head supported on a frame in a shape of a cross. The portable bier used on Ua Pou has been already described.

Protecting the bier and the workers was a *fa'e vaka (fa'e,* house; *vaka,* canoe) or *fa'e ha'a pa'a (ha'a pa'a,* to dry). This was merely a four-posted shed open at the sides, the roof of which was thatched with coconut leaf mats. When the body was being treated, the shed was decorated with ribbons or strips of the sacred white or red banyan cloth, about one foot wide, with coconut leaves plaited on the posts *(kopinipini)* and with other greenery.

ME'AE

Me'ae, the sacred places used for burial and for the performance of ritual at times of festivals, with few exceptions consisted of a platform or platforms within a sacred but not enclosed area, and were located in various types of places, according to their main usage. Those that were primarily for burial were in secluded spots such as the depths of valleys, the tops of hills, and so on. On the other hand, those that appear to have had burial merely as secondary usage, being primarily for the performance of ritual in connection with festivals, were attached to and a part of the feast place, which was itself a part of the establishment of the chief of the tribe. It may be that those of the latter type were used at times for burial, but it is certain that this was not the main purpose for which they were built, as it was the purpose for which those in the secluded spots

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May.

Arriving at the King's abode, we made a disposition of our armed force, and then entered a building resembling a summer-house. The foundation was of stone. The sides were constructed with poles, placed horizontally one upon another, some of which were moveable, to admit air and light. The roof, which was covered with leaves of the bread-fruit tree, had only one slope. The front of the building had a door in the middle, about five feet high and three broad.

The inside of this edifice was divided lengthwise into two parts, by means of a large piece of wood, like a beam or rafter, placed on the floor. The division furthest from the entrance was covered with mats, spread upon clean dry grass, and answered the purpose of bed-chamber and drawing-room.

The walls of the building were hung on the inside with several domestic utensils, made of the calabash; and with stone axes, pikes, clubs, and other instruments of war. In one corner of the room was a curious sort of drum, made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, and covered with the skin of the shark.

Adjoining to this habitation was a small store-room, the entrance of which was from within, and so narrow and low, that it was difficult to creep through it. There was also another tolerably large building or room, apart from the house, where his majesty, on particular festivals, takes his meals.

On our entrance, we were received by the king and queen with great politeness: several of the royal family were present, and in particular the king's daughter-in-law, called the Goddess of the Bay. I questioned this goddess, by means of Roberts,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

HOUSES

THE MARQUESAN DWELLING AND ITS ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a Marquesan commoner consisted of only two houses, the dwelling and a cook house—an open shed with a frame of the dwelling type. Both buildings stood in a small yard which was often enclosed by a rough stone wall about three feet high. Rich commoners had another house, the store house (*fata'a*), which was usually built near the end of the dwelling. A chief's establishment was much more elaborate, consisting of a dwelling, a cook house, a store house and a men's house or warriors' house which served as an eating place for the chief and as a general club room and assembly place for his male friends. Both the store house and warriors' house were tapu to women. The chief's establishment was always built near the tribal assembly place (*tohua*) and the public sacred place (*me'ae*). Both of these structures were considered the property of the chief.

Very few buildings of aboriginal type are in use in the Marquesas at the present time and no large structures of ancient form have been erected in recent years. The Marquesans appear to have had only two types of houses although there were several minor variations of one of these types. One type, which will be referred to as the small house type, was used for all sorts of small and temporary structures built with a minimum of labor. The other, which will be referred to as the dwelling type, was used for residences and for all other large and permanent buildings. Most houses were built on the ground or on stone platforms (*paepae*) but a few structures, notably the store house and the houses in which young people received religious instruction, were raised on posts.

THE SMALL HOUSE TYPE

Small temporary houses were erected for the accommodation of women during childbirth, as dwellings for solitary old people, as places for the tattooing of women and commoners and as camping places in uninhabited valleys. As a rule such houses were built on the ground without a stone platform and were of simpler construction than the dwellings. The framework consisted of two end posts supporting a ridge pole against which two rows of light poles were leaned from either side, forming the rafters. The main timbers were not dressed but the rafters, commonly of fau wood, were stripped of their bark. This bark was twisted into strings and later used to tie on the thatch. The timbers of the framework were lashed together with bark string. The thatch was usually made of coconut mats arranged longitudinally, the lower edge of each mat overlapping the top of the one below. These mats were fastened to the rafters by strips of

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

352 valuables of the occupants. As a protection from rats the cords by which the bundles were suspended passed through inverted gourd shells. The cords passed over the ridgepole and were tied at a convenient height so that to get a bundle it was only necessary to loosen the cord and lower away. The whole house was kept scrupulously clean and formed a healthy and agreeable dwelling.

SPECIAL HOUSES

343 In addition to the houses of the two main types already described, the Marquesans appear to have built a few special structures of slightly divergent form. No buildings of these minor types have survived; they must be reconstructed from the fragmentary accounts of informants.

The storehouse was not built on a *paepae* but was raised above the ground on four to six posts. It stood near the dwelling *paepae*, preferably at one end, and its floor was at about the same level as that of the house. It was a small structure shaped like a dwelling, but the use of a raised floor must have necessitated minor changes in construction which can not now be ascertained. The floor was made of fau poles. In the better storehouses the posts and frame work were carved and there was a liberal use of ornamental lashings. The house was used for the storage of tapu articles and was sometimes used as a residence by old men. It was tapu to women. The native name for this house was *fata'a*, a word whose resemblance to the Maori word *pataka* (applied to small elevated storehouses) is obvious.

346 Fisherman's houses were built within the precincts of the fishermen's sacred place. In Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, these houses were of special form according to information obtained by Handy (*32*). They were raised on posts like the *fata'a* already described. The floor was of fau poles and the roof was of the small house type. The ends of the house were closed and in one end, a small rectangular door was built. These houses must have been a local development, for the fishermen's houses in the valley of Pua Ma'u, on the same island, were not of this type.

Fae tukau were sacred structures erected in *me'ae*. They are mentioned by Gracia (28, p. 57) and by Porter (49, p. 111). Porter describes them as follows: "To the right and left of these gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and coconut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height."

According to information obtained by Handy (32) in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, these houses were built by the *taputoho*, a revenge victim (*heana*) being sacrificed

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

men, from fifteen to twenty. Within these limits fall the more or less definite statements of such early writers as Garcia, Desgraz, and Berchon, Porter interpreting the time as "when they are able to bear the pain." All imply—and Krusenstern (8, p. 155) definitely states—that the beginning of the operation was connected with the period of adolescence. Berchon (1, p. 113) tells us that pregnancy would hinder the success of the work and that it was never undertaken for a woman when she was in that condition, from which we may again infer that the coming of puberty was the time for starting the bodily decoration. There seems at the present time to be no definite connection in the mind of the Marquesan between the two, and the fact that tattooing was practiced during the growing or maturing season of the land just before harvest-time seems also to have no significance at present. However, the celebrations associated with the harvest and with the completion of the tattooing of the adolescent youth of the land were united in a great *ko'ina* or feast. It may be remarked, too, that there is at present no indication that important times in the life of the individual, other than adolescence, were the occasions for tattooing, although Langsdorff, in a description of the *enata* design, says that it was put on when an enemy had been killed or eaten (10, p. xv).

As has been stated, preparations for the tattooing of an *opou* began with the raising of pigs and planting of *ute* for gifts and payment for *tuhuna* and *ka'ioi*. Several days before the beginning of the operation, the father announced that the *oho'au tiki*, or special house for the occasion, was to be built. About one o'clock on the morning on which the erection of this structure was to take place, two great drums (*pahu*) and two small ones (*hutu*) were beaten on the public festival place, to declare the beginning of the *tapu* and to summon the *ka'ioi*. These, usually from forty to eighty in number, immediately gathered at the festival place and together proceeded, under direction of the *tuhuna*, to raid the place of the *opou's* father. They demolished his houses and those of his relatives, with the exception of the sleeping houses; they seized not only material for the building of the *oho'au*, but that for making tapa, or the tapa itself in the event of its already having been made. Enough pigs and other food, sufficient to last for the entire period of the operation, its length depending upon the sickness of the *opou*, were taken for the feeding of the *ka'ioi*, *tuhuna*, and all those who were to stay in the *oho'au*. Not only was the father of the *opou* the victim of this *fao* or seizure of food, but also his father's sisters and even other relatives of the father and mother, if the duration of the operation was extended; and it was these relatives who cooked the food during the entire time.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The *oho'au tiki*, together with a sleeping house and a cook house, which were placed on a stone *paepae* near a *me'ae* (sacred place), or a *tohua* (public place), was erected for the first-born or adopted boy *(matahiapo)*, other sons usually being *ka'ioi* and achieving their tattooing piecemeal and gratis in the *oho'au* of the *opou*. This house, which belonged with all its appurtenances to the *opou* and not to the *ka'ioi* who built it—although they slept in it during the period of the operation—was carefully built, though it was lashed with the coarse strips of hibiscus bark rather than with the finely braided *pu'ukaha* or coconut fiber cord usual in other dwellings. Melville might seem to suggest a different custom in Hiva Oa from that of Nuku Hiva in the description of the tattooing's being performed in large houses belonging to the *tuhuna* themselves (12, p. 48-49); but all modern recollection in Hiva Oa is of the similar custom of building the special *oho'au* for the *opou*. It may be said in passing that neither Melville's descriptions of the spacious houses of the *tuhuna* with their numerous small apartments set apart by screens of tapa for private patients and of the small tents of coarse tapa erected by itinerant *tuhuna* for patients at the times of religious festivals, nor Langsdorff's account of the operation for persons in middling station being performed in houses erected for the purpose by the tattooers and tabooed by authority (10, p. 120), are corroborated in the information gathered last year in the Marquesas. The Russian says further that the women were not, like the men, shut up in a tabooed house during the operation, but that it was performed without ceremony in their own houses or in those of relatives. This is corroborated today, particularly on Nuku Hiva; though sometimes, we are told, a small house called the *fa'e po'a (po'a,* coconut thatching) was built alongside the family dwelling for the tattooing of a girl and in it lived the whole family during the entire period of the operation, the main house being *tapu*, though the *fa'e po'a* was not.

The *oho'au tiki*, itself, which we must take as the usual scene of the operation, was very *tapu* to outsiders. Those who entered it could have nothing to do with women, who were spoken of at this time as *vehine pu'atea (pu'atea,* a kind of tree with soft wood). Indeed these men must hide if a woman were even sighted at a distance, and it was necessary for them to cook for themselves. The men who held the legs and arms of the *opou*, and who fanned flies during the work, were especially *tapu* and had to be served with special food. There seems to have been no regular food *tapu* for the patients during the period of the operation, though according to early visitors, there were dietary restrictions apparently for the sake of health. García says the patients were forbidden for several days to take certain kinds of nourishment, such as pig and

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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343 784 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house. [769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects. [531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 428 611 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 611 [773] The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father administered the household group until the child reached matur-

[564]

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867. 114 165

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females. 114 162

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth (Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use. 844 182 [343]

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield. [776] [753] [778] [776] [847]